6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

inadequacy and dependency, lack of self-reliance and need for complete submissiveness to authority might be fostered. At the same time the attraction to an unapproachable and unattainable father and the feeling of revolt against his despotism, seeking solace from mother and reaction against her over-protection might cause a constant alternation between extremes of these emotional reactions and therefore reinforce the sense of guilt. The feeling of guilt might then provoke a need to confess, to accuse and punish oneself and to submit again completely to the parent's will in the hope to win his acceptance. Self-incriminatory tendencies which have been acquired in this manner might be generalized and extended to relationships on other social levels.

Lanin, an English writer who closely observed Russian behaviour in the second part of the nineteenth century, found that the sense of guilt was "extremely developed."[1] According to this observer there was not only a tendency to confess one's guilt but there was also on the part of the public an insistence on confession of guilt. Moreover, as in the teaching of the Russian Church, confession of guilt was often accepted in social relations as equal to an eradication of sin and therefore demanded forgiveness. "He who confesses has repented, and he who has repented has wiped out his sin," is a Russian folk saying.

Such attitudes and feelings supported the inquisitorial system of justice where the emphasis was on the formality of confession, regardless of the means by which confession has been extorted. Thus since the main emphasis was on confession everything was done to obtain it. If the victim showed any reticence or reluctance, his accusers did not hesitate to employ moral coercion and physical torture to force confession out of him. Once confession was obtained, the conscience of all the participants seemed to have been satisfied:

> . . . Straightway the people rushed
> At the three fleeing murderers; they seized
> The hiding miscreants and led them up
> To the child's corpse, yet warm; when lo! a marvel . . .
> The lifeless little one began to tremble!
> "Confess!" the people thundered; and in terror
> Beneath the ax the villains did confess . . .[2]

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

Aware of such attitudes and practices and sometimes also moved by a genuine sense of guilt, many of the accused were ready to confess and to incriminate themselves. Hense self-accusatory confessions became common to all strata of Russian society, including the intelligentsia. Thus, for instance, when the Russian anarchist leader Bakunin had been extradited to the Czarist police he wrote a *Confession to the Czar* full of extreme self-recriminations. In his confession this leading Russian conspiritor and revolutionary said that he merited the sternest penalties known to Russian law because his thoughts and actions had been "in the highest degree ridiculous, senseless, presumptuous, and criminal . . . criminal against God, my Emperor, criminal against Russia, my country, criminal against all laws, political and moral, divine and human."[3] Formerly, said Bakunin, he stifled the voice of conscience which warned him of the wickedness of his ways. But now "he can only be thankful that his arrest has been brought to an end," before more harm could be done by "my idle, useless, and criminal career." In his confession Bakunin had put himself completely at the mercy of the "wrathful and dread" Czar, admitting that he deserved the sternest penalty. It is of interest to note that Bakunin had also compared himself to a repentant son before an irate father: (". . . a prodigal, estranged and perverted son before an insulted and angry father.")

In a like manner, Leo Tolstoy, the apostle of the philosophy of non-resistance, in his confession humbly repents and tends to go to extremes in castigating himself for the sins of his youth:

> . . . I wished with all my heart to be good but I was young, I had passions . . . I cannot recall those years without dread, loathing, and anguish of heart. I killed people in war and challenged to duells to kill; I lost money at cards, wasting the labour of the peasants; I punished them, fornicated, and cheated. Lying, stealing, acts of lust of every description, drunkenness, violence, murder. There was not a crime which I did not commit . . . At that time I began to write through vanity, avarice, and pride. In my writings I did the same as in life. In order to have glory and money, for which I wrote, I had to conceal what was good and speak what was bad. And so I did.[4]

On the folk level the strength and prevalence of guilt feelings combined with a deeply rooted need and demand for forgiveness

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

might be indicated in the farewell greeting phrase: *prashchaite* (forgive me). The same sentiment is manifested in readiness to shed tears at the slightest provocation. Easy and frequent weeping is found in all strata of Russian society, men and women alike. Autobiographies, belles-lettres as well as folk literature, give ample evidence for this phenomenon. Religious practices of the Russian Church support such needs and demand that repentance be manifested in frequent tears. There are even practical precepts in Russian Church literature about how to provoke tears:

> If you have no tears, do not despair; sigh frequently and heavily from all the heart; for tears are the gift of God, and by and by, with sighs and prayers you will obtain them from God. . . . Having found tears, preserve them with all your strength.[5]

II

It appears that this sense of guilt and passion for confession and self-incrimination, which are rooted in patriarchal family structure, might be strengthened and promoted by a social system in which one is utterly at the mercy of arbitrary superior forces that are not bound nor limited by any moral obligations or any superior principles of law or justice. If one has aroused the anger of such forces he may have a slight hope of forgiveness and salvation only if he completely gives up his individuality, renounces all struggle, and prostrates himself before the omnipotent powers, begging for pity and commiseration.

The annals of Russia's political, social and juridical history give much evidence of such feelings and attitudes. It is perhaps in the field of religion where such sense of utter helplessness before a fearful superior force is projected. There is a tendency in Russian religious beliefs to picture at the one end of the Universe a stern and implacable God and at the other end of it a helpless mankind which is at the complete mercy of this detached and fearful Ruler. But the orphans, the poor, the needy and the repentant, in other words those who are utterly helpless and dependent can expect compassion from Him.[6] Hence there is emphasis both on fear and humility in Russian Orthodoxy.

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

[Saint Theodosius]

593 159 792 rified by such behavior. After his father's death, Theodosius used "to go to the fields with the slaves and work humbly."[13] Later when Theodosius finally escaped from his mother's tyranny by entering a monastery, he became the founder of that school of Russian monastic philosophy which emphasizes self-abnegation and meekness, as well as charitable love and compassion for those who suffer. In that manner Theodosius identified himself and his Church with all those who were tyrannized. But he was also active in protecting those to whom injustice was done. He became "intercessor for many before judges and princes, rescuing people."[14]

152 695 Deep sympathy for those who suffer and identification with them might explain why the Russian juries and the peasant courts were so ready to acquit the repentants. Juries and courts would often set free criminals who were found guilty by well established evidence. The verdict in such a case might be "not guilty" because of "commiseration for the poor murderer." A jury sitting through Holy Week would tend to acquit everybody, because "at the time of our Lord's Passion, it does not become Christians to condemn their brethren."[15]

152 538 Sympathy for those who suffer and identification with them is an outstanding trait of Russian literature of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Russian writings of those days exhibit a preoccupation with great social, political, religious and psychological problems of mankind. They picture a gloomy, painful, and tragic world, full of misery, injustice, blood and death. In the same manner the school textbooks of those days contained many heartbreaking stories full of compassion and commiseration for the suffering, unprotected, weak.

152 ●783 538 668 When identification with suffering is a manifestation of revolt or is combined with the urge for revolt, strong feelings of guilt might develop. On such grounds compulsion to suffer and to be persecuted might thrive. This "Russian Kenotism" is found among the early Russian monastics[16] as well as among the Russian nineteenth century revolutionaries and men of letters. Some Russian revolutionary factions, for instance, emphasized sacrifice and martyrdom to the point of self-destruction.[17] In the like manner Count Leo Tolstoy claims in his diary that he, "often

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

wanted to suffer, wanted persecution."[18] A number of heroes in Dostoyevsky's novels show the same urge.

Undoubtedly such feelings contributed to that tone of fanaticism and that readiness for self-sacrifice which was characteristic of many Russian revolutionaries and conspirators of pre-Soviet days and which gave a special vigor and intensity to their activities. Such extremes in emotional reactions were supported also by another trait in these people, that of emotional instability.

13
EMOTIONAL INSTABILITY

I

FEAR and awe (*strakh*), submission (*povinovenie*), and sense of guilt (*sovest*) are rooted in the structure of the Great-Russian society and are supported by its traditions. But so is compassion (*zhalost*), humility (*smirenie*), demand for truth and justice (*pravda*) and for egalitarian acceptance, as well as revolt and terror (*ustrashenie*), lack of trust and urge to destroy (*unichtozhenie*). It is the propensity to experience such contrasting sentiments that causes behavior which is alternatively bent in opposite directions. A person's behavior which has been conditioned by an environment which fosters such feelings and attitudes might show a lack of sense of moderation and a tendency toward extremes in responses to his social milieu.

It is such unbalanced peculiarities of behavior that have drawn the attention of many students and observers of Russian society.[1] A tendency toward diametrically opposite extremes, and frequent alternation between these poles has been often noticed. Kindliness and gentleness have alternated with lack of consideration, excessive severity, brutality and cruelty. Rebelliousness has been followed by resignation. Periods of feverish energy and confidence have been superseded by spells of inertia, languor and despair. Extremes in feasting have alternated with extremes in fasting. Tyrannical rule had its counterpart in demands for

6: Tomasic E-4 (1947-1948) 1953 RF1 Great Russia RF1

Building on the tradition/role of the Father in the Russian
family the Party portrays the Party Leader as a strict and distant 593
but also watchful and solicitous man who takes good care of his 771 208
family. Following the traditional image of God and of the 665
Father, the Party Leader is pictured as being benevolent toward those who submit to him unconditionally, but as being wrathful and merciless toward his foes and all those who disobey. And just like the members of the Great-Russian family, the Soviet people are expected to show "filial gratitude" to their Elder for his care and vigilance. Hence the supreme Party Leader is addressed as "our own father" (*rodnoy otets*), teacher (*uchitel*), leader (*vozhd*), friend (*drug*), and feeder (*kormilets*). Articles and letters of gratitude published daily in the Soviet press invariably mention his fatherly solicitude (*otecheskaya zabota*), his wise (*mudry*) plan and his genius (*geny*). Without fail they thank him ardently (*goryachee spasibo*) for what he has done for the well-being (*blago*), happiness (*schastie*), and world mightiness of the Soviet state (*velichaishaya derzhava mira*). On the occasion of the Leader's birthday numerous songs and musical compositions include titles which convey the idea of dependence upon and filial gratitude to an All-Powerful and All-Wise Vozhd.

It is expected that such identifications will reinforce in the 154
Soviet people the feeling of guilt and make them redouble their 783
efforts in building and supporting the Soviet system. Thus in the letters which various institutions, organizations and associations write to Vozhd, pledges are given to fulfill and overfulfill their quotas and to improve quality of products in gratitude for his unceasing "paternal care" and solicitude. And if they have failed, stayed behind, or have not come up to the expectations of their "father and teacher," they admit their guilt and promise to spare no efforts to improve, and thus arrest his wrath and rejection.[39] Not only lowly and humble folk from the bottom of the Soviet social pyramid, but men and women on the lofty peaks of Soviet arts and sciences, write such letters to Stalin in the same tone of religious reverence and humility, that strongly remind one both of the servility of Czarist official classes and of the prayers to an All-Mighty and wrathful God in the Russian Orthodox Church.

The ruling hierarchy realizes, however, that deification of the 000